

^S_N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

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• 182 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

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182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

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182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

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182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

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[641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communist regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

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829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

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669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

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829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

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Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

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Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Communist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denouncement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

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As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction
Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appearances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendancy, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerors were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions
What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theories have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C. E. P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats.

Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. During the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

/The New Uighurs/

563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
[584] penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[586] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[589] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
198 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture; since these factors increase the wealth of both the

THE FAMILY

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I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

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Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

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The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

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Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

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Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

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In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

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[582] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

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182 A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

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178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

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[777] The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogative's accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is
required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no security
586 in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs.
The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases
are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving
them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no
maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in
towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other
Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

121 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting
new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong
as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are mani-
fested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure.
The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the seden-
tary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

563 In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
592 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
[162] festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[184] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more
actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house,
milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways
(milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less
burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding
them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced
by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete
authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social con-
tacts.

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

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361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

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182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslems is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

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346 The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

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562 Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

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184 The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest